

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 12971

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ROME FOR AMBASSADOR HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, FR
SUBJECT: GENERAL POLICY DEBATE IN THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY

SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER BARRE INTRODUCED THE GENERAL
POLICY DEBATE ON APRIL 19 WITH A ONE-HOUR SPEECH
DEVOTED MAINLY TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES. MOST
OF HIS THEMES HAD BEEN ELABORATED EARLIER IN THE BARRE
PLAN AND THE BLOIS PROGRAM. WHILE THERE WERE A NUMBER
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OF NEW IDEAS IN THE SPEECH, ITS BASIC LINES AMOUNT TO
AN IMPLEMENTATION OF BARRE'S NOW WELL-ESTABLISHED
LIBERAL APPROACH TO ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND GREATER
JUSTICE ON SOCIAL ISSUES. HIS SPEECH HAS BEEN DES-
CRIBED AS REALISTIC, RIGOROUS, CONCRETE AND IN CON-
FORMITY WITH FRANCE'S PRESENT CONSTRAINTS. THE RPR
VOICED ITS GENERAL SUPPORT, WHILE PS AND MRG ORATORS

CRITICIZED BARRE FOR THE SAME GOOD INTENTIONS AND LACK OF ACTION AS IN THE PAST. THUS DESPITE BARRE'S CALL FOR A "REASONABLE COHABITATION", THE LEFT REMAINS SOLIDLY IN THE OPPOSITION AND SKEPTICAL OF THE GOF'S ABILITY TO SOLVE FRANCE'S PROBLEMS. THE PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF HIS SPEECH THAT HE WOULD CALL FOR A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE (ARTICLE 49) AT THE END OF THE DEBATE, PROBABLY THE EVENING OF APRIL 20. GIVEN RPR ASSURANCES THAT THEY WOULD VOTE AFFIRMATIVELY DESPITE SOME RESERVATIONS TO SPECIFIC PARTS OF BARRE'S SPEECH, THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM OF THE GOF WINNING THIS ROUND. END SUMMARY

1. THE PRIME MINISTER'S FIRST MAJOR ADDRESS TO THE NEWLY-ELECTED LEGISLATURE COULD MORE APPROPRIATELY HAVE BEEN TITLED HIS GENERAL ECONOMIC SPEECH RATHER THAN HIS "GENERAL POLITICAL DECLARATION". FOR IN IT HE TOOK UP MANY OF THE MAIN ECONOMIC THEMES OF SEPTEMBER 1976 (WHEN HE WAS CALLED ON BY THE PRESIDENT AS THE "FOREMOST ECONOMIST IN FRANCE" TO REDRESS THE ECONOMY) AND OF THE BLOIS CAMPAIGN PLATFORM. AFTER TICKING OFF IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS FRANCE'S MAJOR GOALS IN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES, THE PRIME MINISTER PLUNGED FOR THE BETTER PART OF HIS ONE-HOUR SPEECH INTO THE SUBJECTS WHERE HE FEELS MOST AT HOME: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY (SEPTEL).
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2. THE FOLLOWING THEMES IN THIS AREA, SOME OLD AND SOME NEW, WERE HIGHLIGHTED: THE COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE THE BARRE PLAN (OLD), A PROGRESSIVE RETURN TO FREE MARKET PRICES (NEW), THE LEVELLING OFF OF CORPORATE, PERSONAL AND TVA TAX RATES IN 1978 AND 1979 (OLD), TWO ADDITIONAL METHODS FOR ENCOURAGING

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SAVINGS (NEW), A RESTRUCTURING OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (OLD AND NEW) AND SPECIAL ATTENTION FOR THE AGRICULTURAL AND SMALL BUSINESS SECTORS (OLD). SOCIAL PROGRAMS WILL BE AIMED AT A MORE ACTIVE ATTACK ON UNEMPLOYMENT, MEASURES IN FAVOR OF LOW INCOME FAMILIES, A STUDY OF A NEW TAX ON WEALTH AND AN EXPANSION OF CONTACT AND NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE STATE, THE UNIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. FINALLY, BARRE SAID THAT EMPHASIS WILL BE PLACED ON IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE, AN IDEA REFLECTED TWO WEEKS AGO IN THE CREATION OF A NEW MINISTRY WITH THIS SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITY.
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3. DEFERENCE TOWARD THE RPR, WITHOUT IGNORING THE OPPOSITION. IN HIS LOW-KEY WAY THE PRIME MINISTER MADE A NUMBER OF GESTURES TOWARD THE RPR IN BOTH GENERAL AND CONCRETE TERMS. FIRST CALLING ON ALL PARTS OF THE MAJORITY FOR THEIR FIRM SUPPORT AND THEIR POSITIVE CONTROL OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, BARRE ASKED THEM TO MAINTAIN "THE SPIRIT OF RECIPROCAL LOYALTY AND UNITY WHICH HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR IN THEIR SUCCESS." HE ADDED THAT THE FRENCH ELECTORATE "WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND THAT TENSIONS AND QUARRELS COMPROMISE THE CHANCES WHICH A LARGE AND COHERENT

MAJORITY GIVES TO THE COUNTRY." BARRE'S SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF GROWTH POSSIBLE, TO AN ATTACK ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND HIS EMPHASIS ON PARTICIPATION BY WORKERS AND CADRES IN CORPORATE ACTIVITIES WILL BE APPRECIATED BY THE RPR -- AS FAR AS THESE PROGRAMS GO. BARRE'S SPEECH WAS EQUALLY NOTE-WORTHY FOR ITS ABSENCE OF THEMES WHICH CAN BE COUNTED ON TO SET OFF GAULLISTS INTO THEIR RHETORICAL FIRE-WORKS: AN OPENING TO THE LEFT, A US-STYLE PRESIDENTIAL REGIME, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY COOPERATION AND PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. BUT THE GAULLISTS, AFTER A CERTAIN PERIOD OF GRACE, WILL NOT FEEL CONSTRAINED FROM POINTING OUT, AS THEY DID AFTER THE BLOIS PROGRAM, THAT THESE PROGRAMS DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH, GIVEN THE MAGNITUDE OF FRANCE'S PROBLEMS. MICHEL DEBRE, IN THE RPR'S FIRST REPLY, ALREADY SHOWED THE CONCEPTUAL GAP BETWEEN THE TWO MAIN BLOCS IN THE MAJORITY. WHILE NOT TAKING EXCEPTION TO ANY OF THE MAIN THEMES OF THE PRIME MINISTER, HE PLACED HIS GROUP'S EMPHASIS ON OTHER AREAS: THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC, A VIGOROUS INVESTMENT POLICY, CONFIDENTIAL

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A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF VOTING, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, WARNINGS AGAINST THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND A NATIONAL POLICY TO ENCOURAGE LARGE FAMILIES. DEBRE'S REPLY WAS APPLAUDED WITH THE SAME UNENTHUSIASTIC POLITENESS BY THE UDF AS WAS BARRE'S PRECEDING SPEECH BY THE RPR.

4. ADDRESSING THE OPPOSITION, BARRE EXPLAINED THAT THE GOF, "WHICH RESPECTS THE CONVICTIONS OF THE OPPOSITION, WILL NOT BE INDIFFERENT TO ITS CRITICISMS AND TO ITS ADVICE, AND WILL TRY ITS BEST TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN ATMOSPHERE OF REASONABLE COHABITATION." THIS MINIMAL OPENING OR AT LEAST APPEAL FOR COOPERATION FROM THOSE OUTSIDE THE MAJORITY WAS NO DOUBT CAREFULLY PHRASED SO AS NOT TO UPSET THE RPR. IT GAVE LITTLE COMFORT, OF COURSE, TO THE PS OR THE MRG. FRANCOIS MITTERRAND REPLIED THAT THE PS WOULD BE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED IF THE GOF MOVED AHEAD IN SUCH AREAS AS THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE USE OF THE MEDIA, INSTITUTING PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND REFORMING THE VOTE FOR OVERSEAS FRENCH, BUT HE WAS CLEARLY SKEPTICAL OF PROGRESS IN ANY OF THESE AREAS. TURNING TO SPECIFICS, AS IF IN ANSWER TO BARRE'S EARLIER RECITATION, MITTERRAND SAID "THE FRENCH HAVE A RIGHT TO HOPE FOR A MINIMUM OF NATIONAL SOLIDARITY WHICH TRANSLATES ITSELF INTO A TAX ON LARGE FORTUNES, THE INDEXATION OF SMALL SAVINGS, THE

REDUCTION OF THE TVA TO ZERO FOR BASIC NECESSITIES,
THE LOWERING OF RETIREMENT AGE, ETC." NEVER ONCE
REFERRING TO THE COMMON PROGRAM OR THE UNION OF THE
LEFT, MITTERRAND DID NOT RECEIVE THE AUDIBLE APPROVAL
OF ONE SINGLE PCF DEPUTY. PS DEPUTIES RECIPROCATED
THIS TREATMENT AT THE END OF PCF SPOKESMAN ROBERT
BALLANGER'S SUBSEQUENT SPEECH.

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5. ATMOSPHERICS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES: THE DEBATE

WAS THE FIRST FACE-TO-FACE PUBLIC ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE MAJORITY AND OPPOSITION SINCE THE ELECTIONS AND THUS THE FIRST TEST OF ANY CHANGE IN ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN THE TWO. THE POSSIBILITY FOR CHANGE HAD ALREADY BEEN SIGNALLED BY THE MEETINGS LAST MONTH BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND OPPOSITION POLITICIANS AND LABOR LEADERS, SOME OF WHICH ARE BEING FOLLOWED UP BY THE PRIME MINISTER. A BETTER ATMOSPHERE WAS NOTED IN THE ASSEMBLY BY A NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO ATTENDED THE DEBATE YESTERDAY. THEY (AND WE) WERE STRUCK BY THE RELATIVE

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ABSENCE OF POLEMICS BY THE OPPOSITION AND OF INNUENDO BETWEEN THE MAJORITY PARTIES. WHETHER OR NOT THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE "RELAXED" RELATIONS GISCARD HAS BEEN CALLING FOR SINCE 1974 REMAINS TO BE SEEN. MORE LIKELY, IT IS THE RESULT OF POST-ELECTORAL EXHAUSTION AFTER AN OVERLY LONG CAMPAIGN, A LEFT WHICH IS MORE ABSORBED IN RETHINKING ITS OWN STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE AND AN RPR WHICH KNOWS THAT NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO ATTACK THE GOF OR THE PRESIDENT, WHOSE POPULARITY IS AT ITS HIGHEST.

6. BUT FRANCE REMAINS DIVIDED: FIRST, THE PS SHOWED THAT IT INTENDS TO REMAIN SOLIDLY IN THE OPPOSITION. WHILE MITTERRAND ADMITS HIS PARTY WILL VOTE GOF BILLS IT FAVORS AND REJECTS SYSTEMATIC OPPOSITION, THIS POSITION DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY GREAT CHANGE FROM THE PAST. THE PS ALREADY VOTED A NUMBER OF GISCARDIAN REFORMS AS EARLY AS 1974. INDEED BALLANGER ACCORDED THE SAME CONCESSION FOR THE PCF, THOUGH ITS DEFINITION OF POSITIVE REFORMS WILL REMAIN DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE PS. MITTERRAND ALSO STRUCK US AS BEING MORE DISTANT THAN USUAL. WHILE IN THE PAST HE WAS NEARLY ALWAYS CRITICAL OF THE GOF AND OFTEN BITTER, HE NEVERTHELESS CAME ACROSS AS INVOLVED, INTERESTED AND OFTEN CONSTRUCTIVE. HIS SPEECH YESTERDAY WAS CHARACTERIZED MORE BY SARCASM, GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF BEING MORE A SPECTATOR THAN AN ACTOR. THIS DEBATE, HOWEVER, WAS ONLY THE OPENING SHOT OF A THREE-MONTH PARLIAMENTARY SESSION. THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET GOTTEN OFF THE GROUND AND THE OPPOSITION THEREFORE HAS LITTLE TO ATTACK. FROM ALL OUR SOUNDINGS, MITTERRAND INTENDS TO REMAIN AT THE HELM OF HIS PARTY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE AND GVERN THE DIVERSE FACTIONS WITHIN THE PS,

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MITTERRAND'S ROLE AS UNIFIER WILL BE AS CRUCIAL AS IN THE PAST. FOR THESE REASONS, THE COHABITATION DESIRED BY GISCARD AND BARRE WILL CONTINUE TO BE A VERY UPHILL BATTLE.

7. CONCLUSION: FOR THE PRESENT, THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE LEFT, AND THE ABSENCE OF ELECTIONS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE HAVE GIVEN GISCARD AND BARRE A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPLEMENT THEIR DESIGN FOR MODERNIZING FRANCE, INITIALLY ECONOMICALLY, THEN SOCIALLY AND FINALLY POLITICALLY. LE FIGARO DESCRIBES THEIR CONCEPT OF THIS TASK AS "PERMITTING FRANCE TO CATCH UP WITH ITS ERA, A DIFFICULT TIME MARKED BY ECONOMIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND SOCIAL UPHEAVAL ON A WORLD SCALE." BARRE'S SPEECH WAS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. INDUSTRIAL POLICY WAS ONE OF HIS CENTRAL IDEAS, EMPLOYMENT ANOTHER, SOCIAL JUSTICE A THIRD AND DECENTRALIZATION AMONG SEVERAL OTHERS. BUT ALL THESE

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AREAS ARE RELATED, AND EACH CAN BE DEALT WITH EFFECTIVELY ONLY IF THEY ARE ATTACKED SIMULTANEOUSLY AND CONSTANTLY.

8. THESE ARE ALSO AREAS WHERE IT WILL TAKE SEVERAL YEARS TO MAKE DEFINITIVE PROGRESS. BARRE HAS OFTEN SAID, SINCE BECOMING PRIME MINISTER, THAT HE NEEDED THREE YEARS TO RESTORE ECONOMIC STABILITY. HE REPEATED THIS ADVICE TWICE YESTERDAY. IN A SENSE, BARRE'S SPEECH LAYS THE BASIS FOR GISCARD'S TEN YEAR PLAN (3 YEARS TO GO IN HIS PRESENT TERM, PLUS SEVEN YEARS IN A SECOND TERM). IT IS, AS IN EVERYTHING BARRE DOES, CONFIDENTIAL

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GRADUALIST AND CONSTANT. WHILE IT MAY BE LACKING IN IMAGINATION AND THE SPECTACULAR, AND TO MANY EYES IT MAY APPEAR BANAL, BARRE SURELY TAKES IT AS HIS BIBLE FOR AS LONG AS HE IS IN POWER. HE PROVED DURING THE CAMPAIGN HOW STUBBORN HE CAN BE IN STICKING TO PROGRAMS HE PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO. HE IS NOT A MAN WHO COMPROMISES EASILY FOR POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. HE WAS IN THE PAST LOOKED UPON AS A PRIME MINISTER BROUGHT IN TEMPORARILY TO RESTORE THE ECONOMY BUT WHO COULD BE DUMPED FOR A MORE POLITICAL TYPE AFTER THE ELECTIONS. NOW RECONFIRMED IN HIS POSITION AND HAVING INTRODUCED WHAT AMOUNTS TO A LONG-TERM PLAN, BARRE HAS LINKED HIMSELF EVEN MORE CLOSELY TO THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE PRESIDENT. PROGRESS IN THESE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AREAS NOW DEPENDS AS MUCH ON HIM AS ON ANY OTHER FACTOR.
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